The

COMMONWEAL

A Weekly Review of Literature the Arts and Public Affairs

FOUNDED BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

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Some Quiet Hints to Those Who Read

SECRECY was the keynote of power politics prior to 1914. Then as today, to be sure, spies kept their governments informed, large-scale maneuvers were held and the signing of alliances was announced. But only on rare occasions did political pressure reach out to the great masses of the populace of other lands. The "white war" of Mr. Hitler is a new technique. Its aim is, by bluster, terrifying exhibitions of armed might, and tension that is continually whipped up, to wear down the nations and the peoples that block the roads to Axis expansion. It may wear down resistance, but it also forewarns. Although not directed toward our shores at all, it is producing tremendous defense measures even over here. Within the past few days various officials have quietly announced the creation of a new War Industries Board to make plans for wartime production of 10,000 different items from guns to cigarettes; that a third set of locks and a new series of defenses for the Panama Canal would soon be under way; that Puerto Rico was being built up as an air base that would close in on any Atlantic invader from the rear; that $85,000,000 worth of new contracts for army planes and plane motors has been awarded. This is good timing just when there is so much reason to fear another Axis coup. Because of its very unemotionalism this method is less dangerous than an overt warning against starting things. The items on this program which are common-sense preparations serve as good temporary expedients until the inevitable gathering around the conference table comes to pass. But there is also the likelihood that we are pushing expenditures for defense far beyond actual needs.

The U. S. More Prepared

The Schools New York State Wants

IT IS not often that the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York takes an action which can be greeted with cheers by almost every citizen who is not a demented ideologist of one sort or another. Yet the report of its Special Committee on Economical and Efficient Education is almost entirely to the good. The name of the committee is enough to send shivers up and down one's spine, but the report belies the name. Of efficiency and economy, in any penny-pinching or superficial sense, we read very little. The report, strangely enough, comes out, full to overflowing, for the restoration of religion to the educational process. "Accordingly we place *First* on our list of things necessary to produce 'The Schools New York State Wants' a *Deep, True, Religious Understanding and Viewpoint.*'" (Capital letters and italics are the committee's.) As one goes on into the detailed suggestions set forth, it is a little difficult to see exactly what the committee would have the schools do. "When we say religious, we do not mean any particular church or sect." About all that emerges is an insistence that any sincere religious view should always be respected by the schools and that nothing should be allowed to undermine in any way a pupil's devotion to his religion. So far, so good. It would be too much to expect the committee to go the whole way, to recommend definite religious instruction in the public schools.

"Economical" Education

The committee has other excellent things to say about the neglected matters of health and thoroughness in our school system. But it makes one suggestion which carries on an idea responsible for untold harm to our country. It proposes that the State create a board to "set up and accurately define an ideal State Educational System. . . . One half of its personnel should be sound, able business men with successful records, high intelligence. . . ." Shades of Herbert Hoover!

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Certainly it would be tragic to have such a board made up wholly of school teachers. But that half the personnel should be business men is an even more tragic thought. There are certain broad classes in the population whose interests are directly affected by the character of public education—the Church, the Synagogue, the law, medicine *and* business. Above all is needed philosophy —a return to first principles. Men should be selected for such a task who can ably represent these interests, who are broad enough to compromise differences and who have some philosophy. Then a happy result might emerge. Why stack the cards against it by subscribing to the old American myth, that "sound, able business men" can solve any problem the world has to offer?

Great Minds Get Together

THE SIGNIFICANT thing about Columbia University's three day Congress on Education for Democracy is not what was said by the host of speakers invited to address the assembled multitude, but the unexpected and startling size of that multitude. Some of the things said were true, if slightly irrelevant; some were compounded of silliness and a desire to startle (like the suggested invention of a new imaginary scapegoat to replace the devil, who must have chuckled at the thought); some were good and worth saying, like Lord Percy's remark that "our chief duty to democracy is nothing less than the revival of the idea of personal religion." It was also good that Dr. Charles Beard should have pointed out that the word "democracy" is a new word in popular use, coming out of the same world crisis as produced "communism" and "fascism." Before that, America was a "republican" state.

Where the Solution Lies

But the very diversity of opinion in itself and the stumbling, lock-the-stable-door-after-the-horse-is-stolen attitude are self-defeating. Our educators, as Messrs. Adler and Hutchins have repeatedly pointed out, have cooked themselves a broth. Somehow they don't like the way the broth tastes, and they don't yet realize that they themselves are to blame for it. Many a pragmatist has refused to be held responsible for the effect of his teaching on his students; unfortunately history has a way of disregarding such refusals. No; the educators, the intellectuals, are still at a loss. But what is heartening is that a great multitude should look to education as the fundamental cure for the world's troubles. For education is a good means to that end. But education can achieve a cure only if it is the right kind of education, which is not merely a training for the material, intellectual and emotional functions of man, but is also a training in the Divine Law, in the spiritual discipline and sweet compulsion which alone can sanctify and restore to health our material life.

Tacoma Wrests Victory from Defeat

THE MOST SHINING example of local patriotism to project its beams through this naughty world in a long, long time comes to attention *via* the Associated Press from Tacoma, Washington. That city has rested in the prestige of its immediate contiguity to Mount Rainier, reputed to be by its 14,408 feet the third tallest natural eminence in the United States. A few days ago, however, the bottom fell out of everything, with the publication by the National Park Service of the dire datum that a Colorado peak, Mount Massive, rises to 14,418 feet. The emotional storm in Tacoma—thus thrust at a blow from possessing the third highest to possessing merely the fourth highest peak in the country—can only be imagined; but in the issue it showed itself not dismayed and defeated but constructive and resolute. "Within ten days," announced the Chamber of Commerce (paying it on the line), a group would be sent out to scale Rainier and elevate its height the necessary eleven feet, by building a cairn or piling up a great snowfall. As the deadline for this significant effort of the human will approaches, watchers from all over the world (except possibly Colorado) must cheer it on.

Excelsior!

Investigating the Associated Farmers of California

HAND IN HAND with building up their empire of gigantic food factories, the Associated Farmers, Inc., "defensive league of independent farmers," have been strengthening their political and economic fences. When in 1934 they ran up against the first serious threat of organization of their migratory workers they set out to man their political defenses. They were quite successful in securing favorable local legislation and electing friendly local officials. Two years later they began to line up California's other business and industrial groups as allies. Now, according to *Business Week*, "a silk glove has been drawn over the A.F. iron fist. Smooth strategy, political pressure and 'campaigns of education' have replaced direct action." With this set-up and these tactics the Associated Farmers are still able to do some amazing things. In Yuba county, for instance, 36 CIO pickets languish in jail for violating the county law by picketing the premises of the Earl Fruit Company, the largest fruit producer in the world. But opposition is growing. Governor Olson has been taking the side of the unions so vigorously that the farmer interests are talking about demanding his recall. The unions themselves are growing stronger. Because of increasing public sympathy for the workers the Farm

Fences of Galvanized Steel

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Security Administration was the only bureau to get a larger appropriation than that recommended by the Budget Bureau. Adjourning Congress also gave the Civil Liberties Committee $50,000 to be spent in investigating the embattled Associated Farmers.

Bars to Immigration Again Effective

WHILE the first waves of the ten-year depression were sweeping over the highly industrialized United States immigration quotas became unnecessary. There were years in fact when more aliens left America for their homeland or elsewhere than immigrated to this country—hard as it was for many Americans to understand it. As poverty deepened the world over and various nations clapped down currency restrictions on departing nationals, those entering our country continued to be a tiny trickle. But Hitler has changed all that. Within the last year or two applications for entry into the United States have soared. It is estimated that there are so many applicants from certain countries of central and eastern Europe it would take a quarter of a century to admit them under the present quotas. The fear of war and racial persecution is responsible. Should we then increase those quotas? Three recent reports would indicate that we should. One from the American Chemical Society shows how much American science and industry have benefited from refugee immigrants of the past hundred years. Another from the state of New Jersey describes the talents, cultural contributions and extensive Americanization of recently admitted refugees. Finally the Department of the Interior report on the potentialities of Alaska specifically points out how it would prove a suitable haven where European refugees might apply their skills and experience and build up a new community of immense economic, strategic and cultural value to the United States. The answer is obvious.

Refugees and Talents

Actors Get Jurisdictional

"IF LEADERS of organized labor can make and keep the peace between various opinions and factions within the labor group itself, it will vastly increase the prestige of labor with the country and prevent the reaction which otherwise is bound to injure the workers themselves." So President Roosevelt hinted at one of the most noticeable phenomena of the day: the disgust of many citizens, otherwise friendly to labor, at the destructive internecine quarrels which seem, to those on the sidelines, so meaningless and puzzling. Gallup and *Fortune* polls, reflected in editorials the country over, show how valuable a weapon the unions themselves are supplying the enemies of labor by their seeming incapacity to settle internal differences. The latest of these strange struggles is that between the stagehands and the actors, the whole industry being, to all intents and purposes, AFL. Charges involving improper use of union funds were brought some months ago against an officer of one of the four actors' unions. The officers of that union refused to be dismissed, whereupon their union's affiliation with the other actors' organizations was set aside by the three other groups. At once the "disciplined" union applied to the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and received a charter of affiliation from that group. The result was an appeal by the other actors to the parent organization, the AFL, which gave a compromise decision. If the actors won't accept it, there may be a strike both in Hollywood and New York. But perhaps the parties involved will meditate on the President's cautious warning; perhaps the AFL and the CIO will also begin to do some constructive meditating.

Sophie Tucker Disrupts

A Case for France

WE ARE GLAD that the cause of the Louvre's stolen Watteau, now voluntarily returned by the 24-year-old Russian artist who took it to "restore" it properly, is being tried in France. We do not profess to know whether the young man is right in claiming that earlier "restorations" had defaced the masterpiece and covered over its "ethereal green foliage"; that the diabolo stick he has now removed from the hands of the central figure was added by the Museum directors 70 years ago; that the gold frame he has now replaced by homemade oak was unsuited to the picture. We do not even know that the judge will be able personally to pronounce on these questions. But they do not seem necessarily silly nor directed to publicity; and France is perhaps the one country in the world where they would not be treated as totally irrelevant to a case of admitted theft. Remembering the French court which yielded to the plea of an American that his fine (for speeding, wasn't it?) be applied to the French war debt, we trustfully expect the judge sitting on M. Bogousslavsky to deal with the points of his defense on an extra-legal basis and at their face value. Moreover, we do not believe that any Frenchman could readily resist the courteous motives proclaimed for the picture's return: that the investigating officer might go on his vacation, that Scotland Yard might discontinue its bothersome search in England, and that the French police might have one problem the less in the present worry about national defense. But if M. Bogousslavsky is acquitted, museum directors everywhere will have reason to become thoughtful.

Watteau Re-Restored

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The Forgotten Nation of Europe

A Ukrainian nationalist view of the history of this Slavic people.

By **Theodosia Boresky**

TO THE MAJORITY of people in Western Europe and America the Ukraine is a *terra incognita*. Recently sections of this vast territory have been in the news in connection with purges in Russia and with Hitler's ambitions.

The history of the Ukraine, like that of other nations, begins with a semi-legendary or, as Ukrainian historians call it, the "Scytho-Sarmatian" period (500 B. C.–900 A. D.), when the country was in a constant state of invasion, emigration, war and ceaseless turmoil, until there evolved a blending of the different races of invaders with the original inhabitants into one people, called "Rhos" by Greek writers and later, by Latin writers, "Rutheni." In old Ukrainian documents the land is called "Roos," this being the name of the ruling dynasty.

The most romantic and prosperous period in Ukrainian history was between the ninth and the fourteenth century. Then there existed a proud, independent kingdom, the largest, most highly civilized, richest and strongest in all Europe. Who was responsible for laying the foundation of this great historic structure, whether it was the Goths or whether it developed gradually out of the Scythian period, we will never know, for the first documents of the Grand Duchy of Kiev were forever lost in the confusion that marked the first period of Ukrainian national life. All we know is what the monk Nestor, the earliest Ukrainian historian, wrote in description of the princes of Kiev, who, according to him, gradually subdued and governed from the seat of the kingdom in Kiev the tribes he calls "Ruthenian."

The first Grand-Dukes, or "Ukrainian Knights," mentioned in history (by Nestor) are the three semi-legendary brothers, Kyl, Schek and Horiv. It is said that the eldest of these was responsible for the restoring and building up of the ancient capital of Kiev, which in consequence was named after him.

These rulers were succeeded by Norsemen, Oskold (860-867) and Dyr (880). Then came Olga the Wise, wife of Ihor, and then King Sviatoslav.

The most romantic figures in Ukrainian history were King Sviatoslav and his successor-son, Saint Volodimir the Great, who completed the amalgamation of the various Ukrainian provinces into one centralized state, the vast Grand Duchy of Kiev, whose power extended to the Khazars of the Volga and the Finns of the North, whom he made pay tribute to Ukraine. Volodimir also introduced Christianity into his realm. Through Christianity (and the monks and priests who came with it) the country became open to all the arts of foreign lands and especially of Byzantium.

Sviatopolk, son of Volodimir, succeeded his father to the throne. The first clash between Ukrainians and Poles came during his rule. During his short reign he murdered his brothers, fearing their rivalry as pretenders to the throne, for he was of illegitimate birth. Yaroslav (1019-1064), the compiler of laws, restored the prosperous days of Volodimir. Volodimir II, "Monomachos" (1112-1125), was the last ruler in the Golden Era. He married Gytha, daughter of Harold, king of the Anglo-Saxons. (Many English historians recognize a Celtic strain in Ukrainians.) He made treaties with the barbarians who pressed upon the frontiers of the kingdom. After "Monomachos's" death, the steppe became the highway of the westward march of the nomad Tatar hordes of whom nothing had been heard until then. Ukraine, unprotected by nature on her eastern frontier, suffered ceaseless invasion.

The Tatars

With the strength of the controlling government concentrated upon stopping invasions by the Tatar tribes, provincial ambitions rose within the empire, weakening the state so that soon the whole degenerated into an insecure zone and the center of national life was transferred to the better protected parts of western Ukraine.

Kiev was thus deprived of its great prestige. Instead, the viceroys of Galicia and Lodomeria demanded that the country look up to them as its national leaders.

In 1169 Andrew Kitan, the prince of the newly formed Finno-Slavonic Duchy of Muscovy, stormed the ramparts of the Ukrainian capital and conquered it. By 1240 the Tatars completed the devastation, begun by the Muscovites, of the

EDITORS' NOTE: In this collection of articles on the Ukrainian problem, two written from Ukrainian and two from Polish points of view, we have adhered to the various authors' spellings of proper names, in deference to national sentiment.

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Dnieperian Ukraine, so that it was turned into sparsely populated disunited provinces, paying tribute to the Tatars. Halich and afterwards Lview (Lemberg), chief towns of western Ukraine, now took the place of Kiev.

The most celebrated rulers of the period were Roman (1199-1206) and his son Danilo. If it had not been for King Roman's successful amalgamation of the provinces of Galicia, Volhynia (Lodomeria), Kholm and Podolia, the whole heritage of Volodimir the Great might have right then passed into the hands of the Tatars or the Muscovites. His dominions were still the largest, territorially, in all of Europe, stretching between the Carpathians and the Dnieper and reaching in the south as far as the shores of the Black Sea and the mouth of the Danube. Roman was the first of the Galician princes to be called "Lord of All Ruthenia." For a brief period after his death reigned Hungarian and Polish princes who were related to the Galician dynasty. Roman's son Danilo (1228-1264) was the last of the rulers of ancient Ruthenia. His death spelled the end of Ukraine's political independence.

Harassed by the Tatars, it was easy for Poles and Lithuanians to annex separately and independently the various parts of Ukrainian territory. While the Poles' chief interest was in Galicia and neighboring provinces, the Lithuanians centered their attention upon the lands lying between the latter and the river Dneiper. In 1568 they formed a federated state of which Ukraine was a part. But the Poles soon were successful in eliminating the Lithuanians and taking exclusive control of former Ukrainian lands.

In 1596 a number of Ukrainian bishops formed a Council at Brest to proclaim their adhesion to the doctrine and hierarchy of Rome. This "Unia" strengthened western European influences in Byzantine Ukraine and was brought about by the close relationship with Poland.

In this period also came the rise of the Kozaks as a result of social changes in the status of the conquered Ukrainian people. Many old aristocratic families of Ukraine allowed themselves to become Polonized and helped the Poles in oppressing the Ukrainian people. Such action provoked revolution. Although the Kozaks had been in existence since the Scythian and Cymmerian times, it was not until now that their ranks began to swell to a formidable number, as a result of the reduction of the Ukrainian people to a state of serfdom by Polonized and Polish barons. Many hundred thousands of freedom-loving Ukrainians fled slavery to join the ranks and seek the protection of their knights, the Kozaks.

Their first great leader was Petro Konashevich (1602-1624) who proclaimed himself Hetman of Kiev Ukraine and of the whole army in the year 1618. By successful campaigning and through diplomatic action he brought about the union of various Kozak divisions and transferred them from a half-military, half-piratic group into a well-trained and disciplined army that succeeded in making part of Ukraine into a semi-independent state. The strength and influence of the Kozaks became so great that Ukraine called itself Kozakian.

Poland, alarmed at the growing strength of the Ukrainian state, made several attempts to resist Ukrainian separation. At first it was quite successful, but after each attack by the Warsaw forces the Kozaks continued to emerge ever stronger until the climax of these wars of liberation was reached when Bohdan Khmelnitsky became Hetman of Ukraine. He was successful in annihilating the enemy's forces and freeing all of the Ukraine from further foreign domination. When he returned to Kiev he was immediately proclaimed the Hetman of Ruthenian Ukraine. It has been often said that Khmelnitsky made a grave error in not pushing the enemy further than Warsaw.

The Russian alliance

Poland, resenting the loss of so much valuable territory, naturally plotted against the Ukrainian nation. It was under these circumstances that the Hetman decided to enter into an alliance with Muscovy, even though such an alliance was against the will of the people. This momentous treaty was completed in 1654 at Pereyaslav. From that time on the section of Ukraine which spreads beyond the Dneiper stood in uninterrupted connection with Muscovy. In 1667 Muscovy and Poland plotted the partitioning of the entire Ukrainian territory. The Dneiper was to be the boundary between Muscovite and Polish domination. The Ukrainians continued to resist both Muscovite and Polish treachery. Doroshenko, Hetman of Western Ukraine, was successful in repulsing both their armies. In Eastern Ukraine, Mazeppa, the elected Hetman, induced the Swedes to give their assistance, but he was not so fortunate. In the battle of Poltava the combined Ukrainian and Swedish armies were defeated by Muscovite troops. Since 1709 the history of Eastern Ukraine is one of the gradual destruction of its independence. In 1764 the Hetmanian system of rule was abolished and a "Little Russian Board" was introduced in its place. In 1775 the Zaporozhian Sitch (the Kozak Organization) was forever outlawed by a treaty.

Western Ukraine underwent a long series of wars between the Poles and Ukrainians in which sometimes one ruled and sometimes the other. It became a center for Russian and Polish intrigue, until it finally became partitioned by Poland, Russia and Austria-Hungary. Thus the nineteenth century found a number of "governments" of

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Russia and the "Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria" of the Austro-Hungarian empire in the place of the once independent nation of Ukraine.

Many foreigners and Muscovites to whom the Czarist régime taught a falsified history of Russia have come to believe that Ukraine, as a political concept, does not exist. Some have gone so far as to say that it was conceived by the Germans to mask their colonial aspirations.

The name "Ukraine"

It was when the Ukrainians lost their independence to Poland and Muscovy that these two countries forbade them the further use of the name of their homeland. Thinking to make their assimilation more complete, the governments ordered their scholars and historians to disprove the origin of the name "Ukraina." Thus between them a myth was fabricated that the name "Ukraina" meant a section or piece of Russian territory, a sort of borderland, and that in reality there was and had never been any such country as "Ukraina" nor any such people as the Ukrainians. This information was written into their encyclopedias and history books and taught to the whole nation, causing of course much misunderstanding of the problem of the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian nation.

However in the French National Library a map of the year 1580 has been found on which the land Ukraina is plainly indicated. On the map of H. L. De Beauplan of 1650 Ukraine is indicated by "Typus Generalis Ukrainie." In another book of his, "Description d'Ukrainie," published in 1650, De Beauplan gives definite boundaries of Ukraina and identifies it as entirely independent of Poland and Muscovy. (The name "Russia" did not begin to be used until the second half of the eighteenth century.)

Likewise maps of the Italian geographers Sancone and Cornetti of the years 1641 and 1657 have been found in which Ukraina is called "Ukraina a Paesa de Cosacchi" (Ukraina or the land of the Kozaks). In the same library there is a globe of Corneilius dated 1660-1670 in which Ukrainian lands are called "Ukraina." Then there is an English map of Morden (1700) where also is found the name "Ukraina."

Thus it can readily be seen that the name Ukraina was used not only by the Ukrainians themselves but also by European scholars of former times. The very oldest folk songs of the Ukrainian people, still in existence today, indicate that the name Ukrainian was used by those clans occupying the land on which Ukrainians still live.

Geography

The plains of Ukraine once stretched in a wide belt of about 600 miles along the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, from the lower Danube and the Carpathian range in the west, crossing the rivers Don and Volga and reaching to the Ural mountains in the east. About 773,400 square kilometers, bordering upon the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, are under the USSR; 132,200 square kilometers, consisting of East Galicia, western section of Volhynia, Kholm, Pidlyashe and Polisya are under Poland; 17,600 square kilometers are under Rumania, the east-central portion, called Bessarabia and Bukovina and 14,900 square kilometers, Podkarpatska-Rus, were until recently under Czechoslovakia; which makes a grand total of 938,100 square kilometers of land occupied by the Ukrainian people under the various controlling governments.

The number of Ukrainians under USSR is estimated at 35,026,000; under Poland 6,257,000; Under Rumania 1,100,000; under Czechoslovakia 569,000, making a total of 42,952,000. When to this is added the number of Ukrainians in North and South America, a very conservative estimate of the total number of Ukrainians in the world is about 45 million people. Since most of these figures were based on an old census (1910) taken by foreign rulers in Europe and since many Ukrainian immigrants coming to America and Canada gave instead of their true nationality the names of their ruling goverments, the figures may actually run as high as 56 million people.

A revival of Ukrainian literature, art, language and the uniat religion in the Russian part of the country brought fierce persecutions during the nineteenth century. This national revival, however, soon spread over the whole territory including its Austrian part. It took root and grew tremendously in strength and power until the Ukrainian people once more proclaimed their will for independence during the World War by seizing the opportunity for self-determination in the formation of the Free Republic of Ukraine in 1917-1919. New partitioning of Ukrainian territory (1919), new persecutions of Ukrainians for adhering to their language and their church in Poland, bloody purges of Ukrainian nationalist leaders in Soviet Russia, new re-partitioning of Carpathian Ukraine to Hungary (1938) will not solve the Ukrainian problem nor kill the will for independence. If for centuries between the time of the last independent Kozak state (1615-1654) and the formation of the Republic of Ukraine in 1917 the Ukrainian people were not assimilated and discouraged from grasping the first opportunity for self-determination, it stands to reason they will never be assimilated nor discouraged now, especially with the moral support they are receiving from their Americanized brother Ukrainians who have found a haven in American independence, for essentially the spirit of the Ukrainian is freedom-loving, and he is anxious that his brothers in Europe should attain it.

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The Ukrainians in Poland

An anonymous Polish view of the Ukrainian question.

Geography

GALICIA is a name given in 1772 to an arbitrarily delimited part of Polish territory which was annexed by Austria following the first partition of Poland in that year. The territory included the provinces of Cracow, Red Ruthenia, also parts of Sandomierz, Belz and Podolia.

During the Austrian régime Galicia formed an administrative unit of the Empire. It has never been divided into an eastern and western section. The Austrian Constitution of 1849, the Galician Statute of 1861, the Constitution of 1867 regarded Galicia as a homogeneous province, of which the seat of government was Lwow.

The term "eastern Galicia" or "western Ukraine" gained currency during and since the World War. It was invented by the Ukrainian separatists who apply it to that part of former Galicia where the Ukrainian element predominates. Today this name is being used by the Ukrainians to denote the Polish administrative districts of Lwow, Stanislawow and Tarnopol.

Ethnic and religious considerations

According to the last official census taken in 1931, the total population of the three provinces was 6,207,000 of which 2,812,000 were Ukrainians, 2,926,000 Poles and 420,000 Jews. The Polish and Ukrainian settlements in this territory are intermixed and often overlap, so that no clear line of demarcation can be drawn between them.

Out of 3,757 communities, there are 890 with a Polish population of over 50 percent. The latter are scattered throughout the territory, forming 170 enclaves surrounded by districts where the Ukrainians predominate. Poles are in great majority in all the important cities such as Lwow, Przemysl, Sambor, Drohobycz, Zloczow, Tarnopol and Buczacz. No part of Galicia, eastern or western has ever been purely Ukrainian, while 96 percent of the population of "western Galicia" is Polish. Under such circumstances, a political division based on actual ethnic conditions is obviously impossible.

Both Poles and Ukrainians are Catholic. The Poles, however, are Roman Catholics and observe the traditions of the Western Church, whereas the Ukrainians of "eastern Galicia" belong to a uniat Church of their own, which uses the old Slavonic Liturgy of the Eastern rite, although acknowledging the supremacy of the Holy See.

In spite of these differences Poles and Ukrainians have lived amicably together for centuries. They intermarry frequently, the number of mixed marriages in 1910 amounting to some 30 percent of the total. In the same year there were in "eastern Galicia" 235,000 Poles of the Greek faith and 43,000 Ruthenians belonging to the Roman Catholic Church.

In 1913, i.e., during the Austrian régime, 241 Polish periodicals were published in "eastern Galicia." The number of Ukrainian periodicals published in the same year in all Galicia was 56. Between 1794 and 1913, 20,000 Polish books were published in that territory. There are in "east Galicia" 3,000 large estates and 100,000 small holdings owned by Poles.

The most important industry in "east Galicia" is oil mining. This has been developed almost exclusively by Poles, though the Ukrainians had equal opportunities. Of the total number of engineers and workmen employed in this industry only one percent are Ukrainians. No discrimination can be charged against the Poles as many of the oil fields are owned by foreign concerns.

Historical considerations

The historical name of the greater part of "eastern Galicia" is Red Ruthenia (Rus Czerwona). It belonged to Poland already in the tenth century. From 981 to 1018 and from 1031 to 1069, that is for a total of seventy-five years, it was ruled by the princes of Kieff. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the princes of Halicz, a local dynasty, ruled this country.

In 1340 the province was inherited by the Polish king, Casimir the Great, and remained an integral part of Poland from then until the partitions at the end of the eighteenth century.

About the middle of the last century, a national Ukrainian movement was started at the University of Charkoff (Russia). Its chief aim was to transform the dialect of the Ukrainian peasants into a distinct Ukrainian language. Some forty years later the movement began to penetrate into "east Galicia," and became an important factor in the political life of the territory.

The Ukrainian movement, supported by Germany and Austria who saw in it a convenient

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weapon against Russia and the Poles, gradually gained in strength. In 1891 the first Ukrainian deputies were elected to the Austrian Reichsrath.

In 1918, at the instigation of the Hapsburg Archduke, Wilhelm, who, after the fall of the Austrian Empire, was anxious to have a new kingdom for himself, the Ukrainians of "east Galicia" proclaimed an independent "west Ukrainian" state. They fought a seven months' long war against the Poles, which they lost. One of the first acts of Hetman Petlura, the leader of the only representative, though short-lived, government of a national Ukrainian Republic, within the former Russian boundaries, was to enter into a treaty of alliance with Poland.

Poland's treatment of the Ukrainians

It is the policy of the Polish Government, a policy well established by the School Reform Act of July 31, 1924, that each Polish citizen should be acquainted with the national language, and that inhabitants of territories with a mixed Polish and Ukrainian population should be conversant with both languages. The bi-lingual type of school has been adopted as the one which complied most satisfactorily with these requirements.

Purely Ukrainian schools remain in those districts where, in accordance with the Act referred to above, the population requested their retention. The remaining schools, both Ukrainian and Polish, were reformed into bi-lingual schools. In accordance with the provisions of the School Reform Act, 1893 new bi-lingual schools replaced an equal number of both Polish and Ukrainian schools of the old type. The new schools treat in their curricula the Polish and Ukrainian languages on an equal basis.

The most important Ukrainian cooperative institution in Poland is the "Proswita" which has existed for over sixty years. According to a report of the society for the year 1924 there existed under its auspices in that year 1,601 branches and libraries. On January 1, 1928, the society, according to its own report, had 84 branches and 2,916 libraries, a total of 3,000. The increase of activities during the four years amounts to 88.6 percent. This is typical of other Ukrainian organizations.

Ukrainian institutions, whose activities are confined within the limits of their charters, are granted Government credits. The total of credits granted by the Government to east Galician cooperatives from January 1 to September 1, 1930, amounted to 2,297,000 zlotys.

All land is sold freely without Government supervision or interference. In the year 1928/29, no less than 13,000 acres of land were sold by the Greek Catholic Church authorities. No person of Polish nationality was admitted to the acquisition of any part of that land.

The Ukrainian problem

As a result of the World War there is a so-called Ukrainian problem in four countries: Soviet Russia, Poland, Rumania and what was formerly Czechoslovakia. It would be impossible to say that the Ukrainian problem has been divided into so many sections belonging to each of these countries. The importance of the problem in each country is entirely different.

The territorial claims of the Ukrainians within every country are very difficult to define. At any rate the maximum claims now made demand an enormous territory of about 950,000 square kilometers. Of this about 780,000 square kilometers are in Soviet Russia (83%) and the remaining 17,000 square kilometers (17%) in the remaining three countries. Irrespective of the justice of these claims, it is clear that the center of the problem lies in Soviet Russia, both from the territorial and the ethnographical point of view. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has an area of 451,584 square kilometers, inhabited, according to the census of 1926, by 29,018,000 persons, of whom 23,218,000 (80%) are listed as Ukrainians.

The total number of Ukrainians in Central and Eastern Europe is therefore:

USSR (*Ukrainian Republic*)	23,218,000
USSR (*other territories*)	7,975,000
Poland	3,222,000
Rumania	780,000
(*Until November,* 1938) Czechoslovakia	530,000
Total	35,725,000

It is to be remarked, however, that in this total are included also groups of Ruthenians who have entirely different political aims from the other Ukrainians in spite of the similarity of their languages. It will be seen that 83 percent of the total number of Ukrainians live in the USSR and in consequence if there exists a Ukrainian problem its center of gravity lies in the USSR.

True, outside attempts are made from time to time to stir the Ukrainians in Poland against the government. Certain foreign powers see in the Ukrainians a convenient weapon of intimidation against Poland. If there had been any Ukrainians in Poland who believed that "liberation" will come from the west, they have been bitterly disappointed by the example of Czechoslovakia. In fact among the minority groups which during the recent Polish-German crisis assured the Government of their loyalty, the Ukrainian leaders were the first. It does not require keen statesmanship to realize that any cooperation of Ukrainians in Poland with foreign powers would result in the complete shattering of all Ukrainian political objects and ambitions.

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The Ukrainian Religious Problem

A Polish view of the religious issues between Uniats, Catholics of the Latin rite and Greek Orthodox.

By **Alexander Syski**

THE MAJORITY of Ukrainians are thickly settled around Kiev in the USSR. As a nationality, they are Ruthenians. The name "Ukrainian" by which they have called themselves of late is incorrect. For the term Ukrainian signifies an inhabitant of the borderland in relation to those who inhabit the inland. And thus even the Pole settled on the boundary may be called a Ukrainian, and in fact sometimes is so named.

The greater portion of the Ruthenians belong to the schismatic Church. But there is a large number of them settled about Lwów in Poland who are uniat Catholics. The Poles are settled side by side with them in this section of Poland and their number predominates in the cities, yet they are considered by Ukrainian leaders as outsiders and colonists. The Polish version of history takes a different view. The reliable Ruthenian historian-monk Nestor, himself of Kiewo-Pieczerska Lawra, who died in 1136, and wrote the first Ruthenian Chronicle ("Litopis"), states that the Roscislaw family of Ruthenian princes came at the end of the eleventh century to the country around Lwów, taking possession of it from the so-called Lachy, that is the Poles. This same territory at a later period came under the dominion of Hungary. It was regained by Poland under Casimir the Great, since which time it always remained Polish.

It is, however, of no use entering into historical question to determine Polish claims to this land. If we were to follow this method of argument, then the Pole could rightly claim Berlin and Breslau, since these lands were originally inhabited by primitive Poles. We must take things as they are at present. Ruthenian and Pole in some border provinces of Poland live side by side, making it impossible to draw a nationalistic line. For many centuries it was so and consequently there is the presumption it will be so in the future.

Since I am a priest and not a politician, I will not discuss this matter further; I will turn to the real issue in which I am interested, namely, the religious aspects of this co-existence of two peoples on the same land in the southeastern provinces of Poland. Let us hold fast to the main facts. They are: all the Poles are Roman Catholics of the Latin rite; the vast majority of Ruthenians are orthodox schismatics of Byzantine rite. Only in the Polish provinces around Lwów are Ruthenian Catholics of the Byzantine rite to be found. The Ruthenian Church union with Rome was established in Poland with the help of Jesuits and especially the venerable Father Skarga in 1596 at Brześć Litewsk during the reign of Sigismund III. After the partition of Poland that union was forcily abolished by the Czars.

In this way, the Czars reunited with their schismatic Church over seven million Ruthenians during the time of Catherine II (1772-1795), over two millions in the year 1839 during the time of Nicholas I and about half a million in the year 1875 during the time of Alexander II. Possibly the best book written about this shameful and brutal abolition of union with Rome was written by the renowned French Jesuit scholar Lescouer, and all who are interested in this matter may be referred to his excellent treatise. After the abolition of the uniat church by the Czars, naturally, all the uniat church buildings were made to serve Orthodox schismatic purposes. All the Ruthenians who desired to remain loyal and steadfast to the Roman Catholic faith secretly attempted to enlist the aid of Polish priests of the Latin rite to administer to them. Consequently the Russian government immediately forbade all Polish priests of the Latin rite to administer to former uniats. If the Polish priests of the Latin rite transgressed this law they were arrested and exiled. Polish churches of the Latin rite within the area occupied by the Ruthenian Polish population very often were closed and given to schismatics in order to prevent uniats from attending Catholic services. Monastic churches were turned over to schismatic monks. Thus to this day in the diocese of Luck in Poland the schismatics have still under their supervision forty churches which formerly were Polish churches of the Latin rite.

When after the Russian-Japanese war of 1905 Czar Nicholas II gave freedom of religious adherence, quite a number of schismatic but formerly uniat parishes turned Catholic, abandoning the almost vacant churches to their schismatic pastors. They did not even pause—it did not even occur to them to retain their former Byzantine rite—but unhesitatingly they flocked to Polish priests of the Latin rite. This movement which I, as a

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young priest, was fortunate enough to witness, did not last long, because soon there came a reactionary government in Russia, which curtailed religious freedom, so that abandonment of the schismatic religion was no longer permissible. This government at the instigation of a most bitter enemy of the Catholic Church, Bishop Eulogiusz, soon began special missionary work for the benefit of the schismatic religion, especially in the province of Chelm. Orthodox churches or chapels were constructed even in the smallest settlements.

After the War

When the Polish state reemerged after the World War, many Russian orthodox churches built for political purposes, as for instance the monumental structure on Pilsudski square in Warsaw, were dismantled. By far the greater part of the less imposing orthodox schismatic churches in village and country were left standing: some of these were used by their schismatic adherents; others were idle. In due time many of these, especially in the province of Chelm, were in a dilapidated state. Now there was not a single Ruthenian priest who would approach the government and say: give us those churches and chapels; the schismatic orthodox church needs them no more. I will settle here and begin missionary work among schismatics. Not one Ruthenian uniat priest did so. They left the entire missionary field and work of conversion of the schismatic element to Polish Latin priests. These latter even changed from their Latin rite to the Byzantine in order to convert schismatics not to the Latin but to the uniat Ukrainian or uniat Russian Byzantine rite (there being established by the Holy Father two uniat rites to please all concerned).

The Ukrainian Catholic uniat priests instead of pursuing missionary work among schismatics are busy about something else; they watch the Polish government very closely, and even the Catholic Polish hierarchy, fearing they will polonize the Ukrainians. It happened last summer that the Polish premier General Składkowski, who is a physician by profession and is inclined to be also on the watch, but for something different, namely for the decent, neat appearance of the homes, barns, fences, etc., of the peasants, issued an order to repair every old and dangerously dilapidated building and to paint every fence. Property not worth restoration was ordered to be destroyed and removed. And now comes the best argument of Ukrainian persecution in Poland! About 120 schismatic orthodox churches and chapels, which were built by the orthodox Bishop Eulogiusz some thirty years ago on the farms of the province of Cholm to imprint the schismatic seal upon them, were taken apart and disappeared. Orthodox bishops and priests did not succeed in getting the population to protest. To the aid of these bishops and priests came the head of the Ruthenian Catholic Church, the Metropolitan of Lwów, Count Szeptycki, with a pastoral letter condemning this religious persecution in Poland. This archbishop is not interested in telling the world that the number of schismatic Russian churches and priests, who by the way are salaried by the Polish government, is larger in proportion to the number of their parishioners than the Polish churches and priests of Latin rite. He tries to please orthodox national feelings, even at the expense of slandering the Polish state. His pastoral letter was indeed confiscated by General Składkowski, but the Archbishop did not appeal either to the Polish courts or to the Papal Nuncio in Warsaw, the latter being rather surprised at the unexpected move of the Archbishop. By way of information, may I add that the parents and immediate relatives of Archbishop Szeptycki are Poles and that he, himself, before ordination to the priesthood, was a Pole and of the Latin rite. Today, being the head of the Ukrainian Church, he finds it more than expedient to meet every nationalistic demands of the Ukrainians. They do not repay him however with a fervent attachment to the Catholic Church. During the World War, when the Russian Army took possession of Lwów and banished to Russian Archbishop Szeptycki, very many of his clergy declared themselves to be Russians and with their parishes transferred allegiance to the Russian schismatic Church. No wonder, then, that in spite of the regulation of the Holy Father calling for the registration of converts from schism in the Byzantine rite there are many who try to avoid this by a straight forward move into the Latin rite. Such are the religious conditions in Poland in the provinces of mixed Polish and Ukrainian population.

Finally, a few words with regard to the matter of schools in Poland for Ukrainians. I have no statistics before me, but I will say this: just recently—this last year—in Wolynia and in the vicinity of Lwów the children of Polish nationality were left free, by the school authorities, to decide whether to take lessons in the Ukrainian language. Until this year they were obliged together with the children of Ukrainians to study the Ukrainian language in every school in that territory.

In view of this fact alone could one believe that there are any schools in the cities and villages of the Ukrainians in Poland which are without Ukrainian teachers and which do not afford Ukrainian children the opportunity to learn their language—as per the allegation of some Ukrainians? Of course, in a country where two peoples of different nationality, religious rite and language are settled side by side, instances of partiality or injustice could be expected. Therefore let us stop such recriminations from both sides and work together for peace in Christ.

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Poland and the Ukrainians

Polish-Ukrainian relations in 1938 by a Ukrainian sympathizer who takes a broad view of the future.

By **Hugo Yardley**

IT WOULD be ungenerous to deny that in August, 1919, with French help, Marshal Pilsudski performed one of the greatest feats in modern history, in routing the Bolsheviks, when the fall of Poland seemed imminent and inevitable. Not unnaturally, his victory is commemorated in Poland as "the miracle of the Vistula." Lord D'Abernon, who personally observed the whole action, has said:

> Had Warsaw fallen, Bolshevism would have extended to Danzig and Czechoslovakia, to the Ruhr and to a great part of Germany.

Yet those who idealize Poland as the crusader of what they term "Christendom" against Asiatic Muscovy might find their ideology rudely shaken by an examination of Pilsudski's treatment of the Christian Ukrainians, who were also engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the Bolsheviks.

Ukrainians in Poland have been denied not only autonomy, but the political, cultural and economic rights they have been guaranteed by treaties, and by the articles of the Polish Constitution. After the annexation of eastern Galicia the Poles lost no time in starting to abolish all the benefits that Ukrainians had formerly enjoyed. Ukrainians were dismissed in large numbers from official and administrative positions. They were discriminated against in favor of Poles, and made to understand that they were a "minority" on their own soil.

During 1938, Polish-Ukrainian relations have been considerably worsened. The year started with the declaration of the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (U.N.D.O.), the greatest political organization of Ukrainians in Poland, that all attempts at "normalization" had broken down, and that they were now faced with a frontal attack on everything Ukrainian.

Owing to the tightening-up of the Polish press cenorship and the exacting of heavy penalties for the spread of information detrimental to the state, much of what has happened in the past year to the Ukrainians had received only a limited publicity. Yet the anti-Ukrainian campaign has reached depths of intolerance and barbarism that can hardly be equalled—even in this age of savagery. The greater part of Ukrainian territories have been brought under virtual military and civil dictatorship, in which no semblance of the "democratic" Polish Constitution remains, and the whim of the *starosta* (district governor) and the military commander is supreme. Permits are needed to pass from one village to another, no one is allowed out after dark, the peasants have absolutely no possibility of redress from unjust sentences and, for all practical purposes, the areas are hermetically sealed from the outside world.

Forcing change of rite

It is true that, with regard to the Ukrainian Catholics, of whom there are 3,336,200, a Concordat between Rome and Poland of 1925 expressly forbids their transference to the Latin rite.

Yet, especially during 1938, Ukrainian Catholics have been coerced in larger numbers into the Latin rite. Two instances of many must suffice.

> In February last there took place in the market town of Tyszowce, district Tomaszow, a parceling-out of land by the Rolny Bank. Twenty Ukrainians who had fulfilled all the formalities of registration as buyers were then required to change their rite if they were to be eligible.
>
> In March the reeve of Kanczuga, Jan Zajec, refused Greek Catholics permits to work in the fields, stating that he acted under orders. He said that permits would only be granted on notification of change of rite.

It is therefore hardly surprising to learn from Father Osyp Kladochny, a Ukrainian Catholic priest who worked as curate in one of the largest urban parishes in eastern Galicia that:

> In one year, from December 1, 1933, to December 4, 1934, 366 persons in that parish announced, through the district *starosta,* that they were leaving the Greek Catholic Church, the reasons given, for the most part, being lack of work, or position. . . .

The priest who gave an interview to a London Catholic newspaper estimated the number of such "conversions" as in the neighborhood of 200,000.

The Munich crisis

The crisis in Czechoslovakia and the solemn declaration at Munich that national minorities had a right to self-determination proved the turning-point in the Ukrainian movement that its adherents had long awaited. Ruthenia — the Ukrainian province in the extreme east of Czechoslovakia—gained independence, and began to be known by its correct ethnographic name of Carpathian Ukraine. The little state at once became a major factor in the policies of at least four

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powers. The USSR found its own 35 million Ukrainians stirred to fresh "separatist" activities and renewed its liquidating efforts. Hungary and Poland, dreading the emergence of a free Ukraine, with Ruthenia as its nucleus, started a campaign for the country's absorption in the interests of a common Polish-Hungarian frontier. Germany, supremely opportunist, with her eyes on economic advantages to be won from the enormous, rich territory of Great Ukraine, hinted that she might become the champion of Ukrainians, and opened a Consulate-General at Chust, capital of Carpathian Ukraine after the loss of Uzhorod to Hungary. Poland, which had been openly dispatching bands of irregulars into Carpathian Ukraine to create an impression of unrest and dissatisfaction, became fearful of German intervention—and worked a second line of defense. She opened negotiations with Moscow for economic and political collaboration, as a measure of common expediency against an uprising of Ukrainians, backed by Germany.

Throughout Polish Ukraine demonstrations of Ukrainian National solidarity were put down. At Lwow (Lemberg), capital of eastern Galicia, in which city the Polish majority assures to the Ukrainians some degree of liberty, there were serious clashes between Ukrainian demonstrators and Polish mobs. A solemn *Te Deum* at the Uniat cathedral on St. George's Mount, and an open-air demonstration were the occasions for violent clashes between Poles and Ukrainians, during which the Ukrainian shouts of "Long live Ukraine!" were met with the Polish cries of "Throw out Ukraine across the Zbruch!" (that is, across the river dividing Polish territory from USSR).

On November 18 there arrived in England a report of a peculiarly brutal attack upon an internationally known Ukrainian lady, which I have had confirmed in all particulars. The letter read:

> The day before yesterday, a contingent of mounted police came to the village of Kupchyntsi and left with with the local teacher a "black list" of Ukrainians to be beaten-up. Those on the list, however, escaped, and when the police found that not one remained they began to beat-up Ukrainians indiscriminately. . . . Several of them went to the near-by village of Denysiv and seized the well-known Madame Ivanna Blazhkevych, director of the Podilian Association of Cooperatives in Tarnopol. They took her to a field near Kupchyntsi, forced her to undress, and told her that they were going "to write the map of Ukraine on her back." The officer in charge sat on her back, she was held down, and given more than a hundred blows with a bludgeon, then left in a puddle, unconscious. . . . Do not think that this was in consequence of any disturbances in Denysiv or Kupchyntsi. Everything was quiet and orderly. The police are now on a tour of all the villages, carrying out atrocities similar to that described.

It may be asked what are the reactions of the Vatican to the Ukrainian Question. The Pope cannot but feel deeply concerned at the growing enmity between Latin Poles and Byzantine Catholics. And he must be aware of the important rôle that the Ukrainian Catholic Church would play in the Great Ukrainian State that may be established in the future.

The problem is extremely serious for the Universal Church. Regarding the spiritual coercion of Ukrainian Catholics in violation of the 1925 Concordat, we may assume that Rome has already made representations in the proper quarters. The more vital issue, however, concerns the status of the Catholic Church, in the event of the establishment of a Great Ukrainian State.

The Ukrainians and reunion

The Ukrainian Catholics—the most numerous of all Uniats—have always regarded themselves as a "bridge church" between Rome and the Orthodox, and this idea has grown more marked since the war. Their church is certainly well adapted by history and character to fulfil that end. During the brief period of independence enjoyed by the Great Ukrainian Republic in 1917, negotiations were set afoot by Archbishop Sheptytsky and his Exarch Feodorov for the "corporate reunion" of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church with Rome. The laity and clergy of that Communion, though not to the same extent the Bishops (who were Great Russian nominees), had always shown a strong tendency toward the Apostolic See. These negotiations had almost reached fruition when they were ruined by the Bolsheviks.

Again, Archbishop Sheptytsky sought the corporate reunion of the Ukrainian Orthodox in Poland with the Catholic Ukrainians. In 1931 the Pope nominated Bishop Czarnetsky as Apostolic Visitor to the Ukrainian Orthodox, and there had been mass delegations of Orthodox clergy asking to be received into unity. Here the Archbishop's plans were ruined, not by an athiest government, but by the Catholic Poles. Ukrainian Catholic clergy were forbidden to visit Orthodox provinces. Moreover, the Polish campaign for the "conversion" of the Orthodox has led to a terrible widening of the psychological cleavage between Catholic and Orthodox.

Yet the Archbishop still regards his Church as destined to fulfill the rôle of mediator, and reconcilor, between East and West. He is the most revered of Ukrainian leaders, with an unbounded influence over the hearts of Ukrainians both Catholic and Orthodox, not only in Poland, but in Carpathian Ukraine and among the Ukrainian colonies in America.

From his palace on Saint George's Mount, he looks Eastwards, and foresees the time when, once again, he, or his successor, will be called to reorganize Christianity in Great Ukraine.

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Views & Reviews

BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

I HAVE RECEIVED from the publicity director of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, Mr. Victor Lo Pinto, a letter commenting upon what was said in this column in the issue for August 11, concerning the group of Catholic laymen in Ohio who had written to me, through the representative of the chosen leader of the group, and, presumably, had addressed a similar communication to others writers for and editors of the Catholic press. As I explained, the new group of the Catholic laity took the quite extraordinary point of view that the recent "Catholic Social Democracy Conference in Cleveland" was "a climax to all of these unbridled, discordant, rabble-rousing elements" which, so it was stated, have appeared in action "directly or indirectly under the auspices of the Church or its related organizations"; and, therefore, that the Cleveland conference "was the final cause of bringing together a group of Catholic laymen to protest all of these things that have been arousing class warfare."

Just what "all of these things" might happen to be was not fully explained. The specific offenses of the "rabble-rousing" elements mentioned in the letter from the new group were, first, the addresses of a priest given in the Catholic Hour radio programs, telling Catholics "it was their duty to join the CIO"; secondly, speeches by the most eminent of contemporary American Catholic authorities on moral theology in its application to economic and other social problems; and, thirdly, statements made by "editors and headline writers of certain Catholic papers." These latter offenses were not specified further than the mimeographed reproduction of brief paragraphs and headlines taken from the Catholic *Universe Bulletin,* the official organ of the diocese of Cleveland, dealing almost exclusively with the meeting in Cleveland.

As the letter which brought this information to me together with a copy of a statement issued by the chairman, or spokesman, of the group of layman declared that neither letter nor statement was sent "'with the idea of its being used for publication, but merely to bring you the thoughts of Catholic business men of this area," I used no names in my comments, which were intended merely to bring this extraordinary movement at least partly into the open, so that it might be, I hope, profitably discussed. The only reason given by the writer of the letter for sending it was the closing statement that it "may interest you in the treatment of this subject by your paper in the future." Whether or not THE COMMONWEAL or this writer personally was held to belong to the "rabble-rousing" group, I do not know. But the letter did seem to me to resemble the sort of missive which some business men send to newspapers, not for publication, but usually to indicate on which side their bread might be buttered, according to the policy adopted by the editors after pondering what the business men had to say. Perhaps, however, this suspicion was unfounded; possibly, the Ohio business men of this particular group are simply interested in bringing Catholic publicists around to their own point of view, yet without public controversy.

But to return, now, to the second letter in this interesting and developing subject. Mr. Lo Pinto, publicity director for the ACTU, in a highly professional manner, brings one matter, at least, very much into the open. Referring to the Ohio business men, he writes: "When they say that 'the true traditions of the Catholic Church have been forgotten by a priest who used the Catholic Hour to tell Catholics it was their duty to join the CIO,' we take it they mean the Reverend John P. Monaghan, chaplain of our Association, whose series of talks was based upon a profound knowledge of the social teachings of the Church throughout the ages; Father Monaghan, who enjoys a wide reputation among the working classes as one of their outstanding champions in demanding for them their natural rights as human beings to life and therefore to the necessities that make life possible; Father Monaghan, who has just returned from Chicago where he instructed 150 priests in the social mission of the Church at the invitation of Cardinal Mundelein."

Mr. Lo Pinto is correct. It was indeed Father John P. Monaghan who was attacked in the communication sent to me, and, no doubt, to others, by the spokesman for the group of Ohio business men. In fact it is mainly upon Father Monaghan that the six-page statement from the spokesman of the business men's group bases its attack; which having been spread in private, now becomes at least partly public, in this manner. I am sending the complete statement to the publicity director of the ACTU, so that the matter may be taken up, either privately, or publicly, by those who at present are chiefly concerned.

Mr. Lo Pinto also points out in his letter to me that it would have been well if I had explained the authority for and the history behind the congress in Cleveland which seemed to the group of business men to have brought such undesirable results. No doubt his point is justified; but I considered that the readers of THE COMMONWEAL were well aware of the fact that the second annual National Social Action Congress, recently held at Cleveland, was based upon the proper authority in such matters, namely, that of the American hierarchy. Any effort even to sketch the long and honorable history of episcopal interest in and promotion of the teachings of the Church in our country, as they are concerned with economic and other social problems, would have required far more space than this column of notes and jottings can dispose of. However I quite agree with Mr. Lo Pinto that there are many Catholic business men, most unfortunately, to whom the efforts of the Bishops to instruct their flocks along lines leading to practical, not merely theoretical, social justice, fall under the accusation of "rabble-rousing" and the fomentation of class warfare. It is also true, as Mr. Lo Pinto goes on to remark, that the same attitude can be found among Catholic workers. It is for these reasons, among others, I am informed that the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists was formed "to foster and spread in the American labor movement sound unionism based on Christian principles first by bringing to Catholics in particular . . . a knowledge of these principles."

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Communications

THE TENDENCY OF CATHOLIC SOCIOLOGY

Princeton, N. J.

TO the Editors: I wish to assure Reverend Bernard Iddings Bell (August 4) and other readers of THE COMMONWEAL that I am not "indifferent to the wise pronouncements of the Holy Father in 'Quadragesimo Anno.'" If my letter in the issue of July 14 gave that impression, I am sorry. In writing it I was neither unaware of nor indifferent to that great Encyclical.

I do not agree with Dr. Bell's contention—or what I understand is his contention — that "Quadragesimo Anno" calls for compulsory arbitration in this country. Please note that the discussion concerns this country, not one in which the whole community is agreed upon principles of social justice which the state can be trusted to apply in cases in which the immediate parties cannot agree as to particulars.

The first two of the four passages from the Encyclical which Dr. Bell quotes in support of his contention have to do with the social aspects of ownership and not with compulsory arbitration specifically. Dr. Bell's third quotation is: "The primary duty of the state is to abolish conflict between classes with divergent interests." In the translation I am using (National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1931, p. 27) the passage runs: "This is the primary duty of the state *and of all good citizens;* to abolish conflict between classes with divergent interests and thus foster and promote harmony between the various ranks of society." (Italics mine.) The Pope does not say that "conflict" is to be "abolished" by imposing compulsory arbitration upon employers and labor organizations. The context suggests (to me) that the emphasis is on the necessity of abolishing the causes of conflict so that the parties may cooperate willingly.

Dr. Bell's fourth quotation is: "The state should be the supreme arbiter, ruling in kingly fashion far above all party contention." In the translation I am using (p. 33), the passage reads: "The state which should be the supreme arbiter, ruling in kingly fashion far above party contention, intent only upon justice and the common good, has become instead a slave, bound over to the service of human passion and greed." This passage does not call specifically for compulsory arbitration. Like other statements in the Encyclical it declares the principle that the state ought to intervene, where necessary, to protect the economically weak from exploitation. That principle is assumed in this discussion. One question that is pertinent, however, is whether the state, in what Dr. Bell characterizes as "this secularized and irreligious world," can be trusted to act as an arbiter "far above all party contentions, intent only on justice and the common good."

I do not believe that the American Catholics who do not want what is generally known as the "corporative state" in this country, "want instead that labor and capital shall go on in a modified cat-and-dog-fight manner," as Dr. Bell implies. I believe that they want agreement upon sound principles. But, as I see it, they do not expect such agreement to be furthered by clamping compulsory arbitration down upon "labor" and "capital."

It may be, as Dr. Bell says, "a little hard to understand just how the state is going to be 'preventing any voluntary group from maintaining terms and prices contrary to public interest' without compulsory arbitration." I was not attempting to explain how it could be done; I was merely summarizing what I believe to be the program favored by many American Catholics under the name of "a corporative order." However, enjoining particular terms or prices on the ground that they are contrary to public interest is not the same as compulsory arbitration. For one thing, the overruling of terms or prices might be necessary where the employers' association and the workers' organization have agreed rather than where they have disagreed. Moreover, compulsory arbitration would apply whenever there is a dispute, even though the terms sought by the workers are not so high so to threaten the common good.

If I am allowed a turn at quoting from the Encyclical I choose the following passage: "This longed-for social reconstruction must be preceded by a profound renewal of the Christian spirit, from which multitudes engaged in industry in every country have unhappily departed. Otherwise all our endeavors will be futile and our social edifice will be built, not upon a rock, but upon shifting sand."

DAVID A. MCCABE.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

Brooklyn, N. Y.

TO the Editors: I read Michael Williams's "Views and Reviews" of August 11, 1939, with more than usual interest; in fact, I read it twice again.

Very aptly does he term the letter he received from "a group of Cleveland laymen" a remarkable one. The chance bits that are printed for us are positively astounding. The letter seems to present another side of the story.

My curiosity has been aroused; my appetite has been whetted. Mr. Williams, do your best to let us have some more. Try to have the letter and documents brought under the light, where we all can see. Use the X-ray machines and find out if anything is there.

We'll all be waiting patiently.

REV. EDWARD J. GIORGIO.

ST. VINCENT DE PAUL SOCIETY

Denver, Colo.

TO the Editors: "We have reached an almost unmerciful attitude toward the poor. Specialized welfare programs will not meet the need, because social work has become so mechanized that it is not dealing with the problem as it should." Such was the declaration of Monsignor John O'Grady, secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, at a recent meeting in Colorado, where the Charities prelate is pioneering in the establishment of a unique and model plan of Catholic Action for the United States. Under the auspices of the St. Vincent de Paul Society a totally new pattern of militant lay Catholicism is being created. For the first time in more than a century of Catholicity in the West, the Church is launching a

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dynamic program designed to marshal the resources, spiritual and material, of impoverished farmers, enslaved Mexican beet workers and the unclassified army of forgotten men camped on the outskirts of self-sufficiency.

The nation's premier Catholic Action project being pushed in Colorado is a radical departure from existing functions of the St. Vincent de Paul Society. The program being developed by Monsignor O'Grady, at the instigation of Bishop Urban J. Vehr, D.D., looks to the development of active conferences at strategic spots in the smaller cities and rural areas. Complementing the already existing activities of the de Paul society, moreover, will be a Christian plan of study and discussion to combat anti-social and communist propaganda.

Depending as it does with success on the pastors of the various parishes where the conferences operate, the program centralizes the interests of the Vincentians in the needs of their respective communities, with unifying supervision emanating from the Bishops. An educational program is being pursued, which is designed to familiarize the members with available county health services and such other welfare compensations as will benefit dependent children, the blind, widows, etc., in a study of rural problems as well as impending cosmopolitan emergencies. Through the plan outlined by Monsignor O'Grady, members of the society will also be instructed to represent or seek representation for impoverished classes in effecting just legislation. In addition to securing public benefits for the people in the respective counties of each state, the de Paul men will be better equipped to counsel the poor in maintaining a Christian philosophy of life and in inaugurating the friendly visitors' service to the needy, which is one of the traditional functions of the St. Vincent de Paul Society.

The program was launched on a national scale at the annual national convention of the St. Vincent de Paul Society held in conjunction with the twenty-fifth meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Charities in Denver, Colo., August 5 to 9. The Most Reverend Edwin V. O'Hara of Kansas City, Episcopal chairman of the Social Action department of the N.C.W.C., acted as honorary chairman at a sectional meeting to discuss rural conferences, presided over by George J. Gillespie of New York City, president of the Superior Council of the St. Vincent de Paul Society in the U. S.

Rev. John Cavanagh.

CATHOLICS AND THE AMERICAN WAY

Brooklyn, N. Y.

TO the Editors: I have just read the second of Robert C. Pollock's articles on "Catholics and the American Way" (August 11), and I must say that I found it just as good as the first. I liked particularly the way he stressed the interdependence of democracy and Christianity, the inestimable contribution of Catholicism to the growth of democracy and the deep indebtedness of American Catholicism to democracy. Those "medieval" Catholics who object to democracy as a "modernism" render almost as much a disservice to their Church as do those streamlined, semi-fascist Coughlinites who sneer at "so-called democracy" but always have a ready excuse on their lips for the actions of this or that fascist dictator.

It strikes me that the idea of human fellowship is one that is basic both to democracy and to Christianity. Christianity is not successful, is not true Christianity, unless it brings men together in a bond of human fellowship. Democracy cannot hope to succeed unless it is rooted in an atmosphere of human fellowship. The fruit of Christianity becomes the life-blood of democracy. This thought rather frightens me. I see how much democracy depends on genuine Christianity. And then I remember the *Tablet* and "that nasty man" from just outside of Detroit. . . . The responsibility seems *almost* too great.

The more I think about it, the more I realize how closely knit together are the fates of human fellowship, democracy and Christianity. The Word of God falls on barren ground in a society that is not democratic in the social and economic sense as well as in the political and legal. How can the Church generate human fellowship in an economic order where the masses are pitted against other fellow-men in an effort to gain the right to organize freely and to live as decent human beings? Can it not be said that the Church's first job is to see that justice be done here? Didn't Saint Thomas say something about the futility of preaching to a man who has an empty stomach? *First,* help him to raise himself from his destitute state; *then,* he will be able to listen to God. After all, it is by means of bread that we receive the Sacrament.

To my mind the conclusion is inescapable. The Catholic Church in America, for the sake of human fellowship, democracy and Christianity all over the world, must make itself the vigorous champion of the cause of the poor, of economic and social justice. Already there are far too many Catholics who are causing the Church to be considered a bulwark of conservatism, the preserver of the *status quo*—the established disorder of things. And if one stays conservative long enough he becomes a reactionary. A young conservative makes an old Bourbon. In that case, Mr. Pollock would have to write another series of articles on "American Catholics in the Old World Way." God forbid!

Robert O. Carleton.

SILVER: THE LAST PHASE

Ogden, Utah.

TO the Editors: Referring to your article ("Silver: the Last Phase," July 28) by Srinivasky [*sic*] Wagel, which is an insult to the intelligence of the West and the Catholics, I cannot see why this article rates such a prominent bunch of space; it is full of misstatements and all you have to do is to read the law to satisfy yourself that Mr. Wagel has not studied the silver law at all. You can easily procure it from Senator Pittman of Nevada. This law is putting to work thousands of miners and prospectors at no cost to the government except the printing of silver certificates to pay for the silver, just like it pays for gold at $35.00 per ounce—used to be $20.00. Read it up yourself and make Wagel stand in the corner with a cap on his head.

Frank W. Joesten.

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Points & Lines

Tactics

AS THESE LINES are written, the largest army maneuvers in our history are being carried out by the War Department with Regular Army and National Guard units. Simultaneously about 25,000 men are involved in Virginia and Maryland, about 52,000 in northern New York State and an unstated number in California. Here is an AP description of the "problem" from the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch:*

> The "Black" (enemy fleet) has landed a main force in New England and New Jersey and has been stopped in a northern line east of the Hudson River from Connecticut to Vermont and a southerly line from New Brunswick to Camden in New Jersey. The main Blue (defending) forces must prevent them from crossing the Hudson River in the North and reaching Philadelphia in the South.
>
> To divert the main defense, the enemy staff has directed a thrust with a fast mechanized force of tanks, combat cars and motorized infantry and artillery. That is the army's streamlined division which is to strike from Quantico, Va., toward Washington. Its hardest punch is in the 70 light tanks that can fight at 55 miles an hour. Between the invader and the capital stand Pennsylvania's "Iron Division" of World War fame, the 28th, and the 29th Division made up of National Guardsmen from Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia.
>
> Motorized to take troops into position but unable to "fight on wheels" like the invader, they more nearly conform to the army make-up of the World War but have the advantage of advanced motorization and armament.

The New York *Times* makes some interesting editorial remarks:

> This morning the caissons are rolling, the guns are rumbling, "over hill, over dale" as citizen soldiers from the Northeastern States concentrate at Plattsburg, N. Y., for two weeks of field exercises. Fifty-two thousand troops—more than the Italian Army of the Po mustered in the Piedmont plains a week ago to hurl back an "invading" French Army—will be mobilized in the Plattsburg area for the largest maneuvers in American peacetime history.
>
> They will be maneuvers after the American manner, and although this will be reassuring to those who fear too great a grasp of the military upon our political life, it cannot be taken as a compliment to our military efficiency. For the truth is that the First Army, now concentrating near Plattsburg and already under arms near Manassas, Va., is not a modern army, in the European sense, nor is it, in any sense, a trained army. Due to the exigencies of our Air Corps expansion program, there will be no combat aviation at Plattsburg (a somewhat sad commentary upon our present readiness for war); no modern anti-tank guns, insufficient machine guns, no heavy artillery, little anti-aircraft, but few modern trench mortars, insufficient gas masks.
>
> The troops at Plattsburg, particularly the Guard units, which are at a fraction of their war strength, are, compared to European armies, greenhorns in the art of war. They are being mobilized as an army for the first time in four years; the commanders and staffs of the larger units are new to each other and to their men; thousands of the Guardsmen have never before had field training; many of them have never seen a tank, and even to the Regulars mechanized warfare is a strange and confusing development.

The commander of the Third Corps Area has much the same ideas as the *Times* editorial writer, according to press reports:

> Lieut. Gen. Hugh A. Drum, commander of the Third Corps Area, who is here in a tour of inspection, declared that the country should keep driving now on the training aspect of national defense. He recalled a sentence from a speech of Chiang Kai-shek to the Chinese people at the beginning of the present hostilities, in which he said:
>
> "The more a people perspire in peace, the less they bleed in war."

General Drum later cited figures to the New York *Herald-Tribune:*

> Gen. Drum's figures on arms and motor equipment were really startling. Whereas the First Army should have 4,926 machine guns, it actually has only 1,863, a shortage of 67 percent. There are only 4,416 trucks available here and the mobilization plans call for 25,752. This shortage of 83 percent was the greatest along with an equal deficiency in 155-mm. guns, the army here having only eighty-four of a total of 432 prescribed for the "type army."
>
> The deficiency in three-inch anti-aircraft guns cited by Gen. Drum was 57 percent, only thirty-one such guns being available as against seventy-two required. The First Army has only 300 75-mm. guns and it should have 480. There is a 57 percent shortage in automatic rifles, hard-hitting weapon of the infantry, the First Army having only 2,836 of these while the plans call for 6,663.

And *Newsweek* points out that one effect of the games will be to call public attention to the need for ever greater armament appropriations. It signalizes the scheme in effect on the West Coast of having official civilian "observers" participating in the games:

> And probably no generals will be surprised if the maneuvers reveal that the Army's weapons are in need of further modernization, since few of the new planes and anti-aircraft guns for which Congress has provided funds have yet been delivered, and since the Army has not yet got all the appropriations it wants. The use of civilians in the Pacific air games is in line with the Army's new publicity technique: naturally, the War Department is not unaware that such participation will tend to make the public less critical of the larger appropriations which world conditions make necessary.

But perhaps the most interesting part of all is the gradual emergence of a completely new system of army organization, well depicted in the current *Life.* It says:

> The ultimate in Army streamlining is its Provisional Second Division which at Fort Sam Houston, Tex., has been testing out new theories of organization and tactics for more than a year.

Then in three paragraphs it summarizes, for the layman, the changes that have come in army organization since the World War—easily the most radical in centuries:

> Sergeant commands squad in new division, with corporal second. To sustain squad battle power, four men are added to wartime eight. Garand semi-automatic rifle triples fire power. Squad is basic infantry unit, as largest which can be commanded in battle by voice or hands of one leader.
>
> Lieutenant commands platoon, which has three squads instead of oldtime two sections (commanded by sergeants) of three squads each. Command is simpler.
>
> Captain commands company, cut from wartime 250 men to 162. It contains three platoons of riflemen. The new division organization is based on combinations of three units —two for line fighting, one for reserve. The new company also contains a headquarters platoon armed with light machine guns, for general support, and 60-mm. mortars, which lob shells to reach enemy machine guns that are protected from flat fire by hills and mounds.

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The Screen

Wharton and Baum in Cinemaland

WARNER BROTHERS' courage in producing "The Old Maid" deserves to be commended. Whether they will be rewarded depends on the audience reaction to this intelligent, strictly adult, austerely unpleasant story. Zoë Akin's play based on Edith Wharton's novelette could hardly be considered good cinema material; and Casey Robinson's screenplay, introducing new scenes to increase the picture's movement, remains on the whole static and cold with its repeated episodes of pent-up passion and spite. But in Edmund Goulding's direction, in the costumes and sets (Philadelphia during the sixties and seventies) and in the good acting throughout, "The Old Maid" shines brightly through its own frigidity. Miriam Hopkins, as the belle who spurns Clem Spender (George Brent) to marry comfortable riches, is attractive in her love, hateful in her jealousy of cousin Charlotte's affair with Clem, and lovely as the middle-aged matron who tries to repair the wrong she has done. Bette Davis, spontaneous and winsome at first as Charlotte who accepts the cast-off Clem and has a child by him, becomes a bitter, frustrated woman after Clem's death, her own failure to marry and Delia's stealing the affection of her daughter. The two principals with polished characterizations carry the burden of the picture. They get excellent support in minor rôles from Jane Bryan and Donald Crisp.

While the serious-minded grow concerned and shake their heads over the standards involved in Edith Wharton's social problems, youngsters, oldsters, all the young in heart will go into raptures over "The Wizard of Oz." Producer Mervyn LeRoy has added modern touches to the L. Frank Baum book, but not too many to spoil the sentiment for those of us who poured over the adventures of Dorothy and Toto and her good companions and wicked enemies in the Land of Oz. Splendorous Technicolor, fantastic settings. Jack Dawn's character make-ups and Bobby Connolly's staging of the musical numbers, with some swell tunes and lyrics, add a new vividness to the Baum story. Of course the brightest spots in Director Victor Fleming's picture are the meetings between Dorothy (Judy Garland) and her new friends. The cleverest are Ray Bolger, done in burlap as the Scarecrow, whose gay dancing and song, " If I Only Had a Brain," are delightful, and Bert Lahr as the Cowardly Lion whose impersonations of timidity and toughness are a masterpiece of travesty. Jack Haley's Tin Woodman personality has difficulty in shining through aluminum and rivets. Remembering some of the reactions to Disney's "Snow White" and England's censorship, I hope youngsters won't be too frightened by the grotesquerie and meanness that Dorothy meet with. Billie Burke's saccharine Good Witch hardly compensates for Margaret Hamilton's evil Bad Witch. A six-year-old sitting next to me loved the whole proceedings; he bit off all his nails, but was gleeful most of the time. I nearly roared when he asked his father if Groven Whalen built Emerald City.

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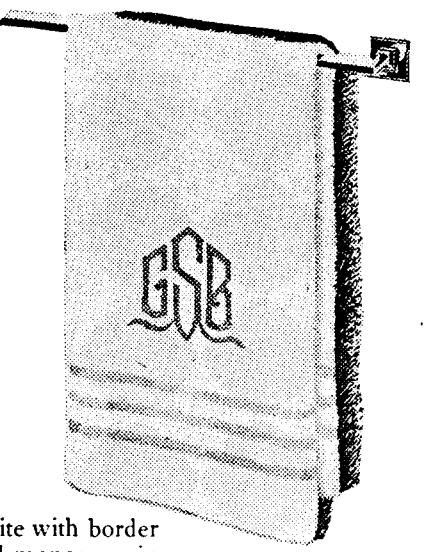

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Books of the Week

Christians and Jews

A Christian Looks at the Jewish Question, by Jacques Maritain. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. $1.00.

THIS short essay, which can be read easily in an hour or two, is the expansion of a lecture given by Maritain in 1938. It is divided into three sections.

In the first section, he discusses the economic and social problems facing countries have a considerable Jewish population. Special attention is devoted to Germany. These problems are caused, not by the Jews as such, but by economic and social factors. The anti-Jewish myth "endows any fool with a means of explaining the misfortunes of history," including the economic and social ones. It offers no solution, for it does not treat the real causes. Further, it diverts men from the actual task and makes any solution impossible. The only solution lies along the line of transforming the real causes within the economic and social structures. Maritain gives no specifications for this transformation, but these do not come within the scope of the present essay.

In the first part of section two, Maritain presents a theory to explain why the Jews and the world are in conflict. They constitute a sort of *corpus mysticum,* a "communion of mundane hope," but at any rate a supernatural body, and "if the world hates the Jews, it is because the world clearly senses that they will always be outsiders in a supernatural sense." Maybe. But the theory might look more convincing if more specific evidence for it were offered, and were it not for groups such as the gypsies, who in ability to survive and to evoke sporadically hostile reactions from the peoples among whom they dwell represent, in these respects, suggestive parallels. The second part of section two, with the caption "Jews and Christians," is not only convincing but arresting. A Christian who can read these forceful and cogent pages and still harbor conscious anti-Semitism in his mind or heart has to be notably agile and resourceful. It is possible to do so only if he obeys "the spirit of the world rather than the spirit of Christianity. Strangely enough certain Christians are heard to remark: 'Has the world been moved (they say) by the massacres of so many Christians in Russia, Spain, and Mexico? We will be stirred by the Jewish persecutions when the world will be stirred by the sufferings of our own.' When I hear this manner of reasoning, I wonder how it is that from one day to the next, and without even telling me anything about it, my religion has been changed."

The third and last section is a summary sketch, masterfully penned, of the tragic situation in which the Jews find themselves in Russia, Germany, Rumania, Poland, Italy and elsewhere. Nor are certain Catholic individuals and groups held blameless, and Maritain is refreshingly honest about it. The original lecture on which this essay is based was delivered in New York as well as Paris; so perhaps it was the courtesies imposed upon a guest that have influenced the author to say nothing of our own made-in-America brand of anti-Semitism.

Maritain has not, in the present essay, given us so much that is new in the way of facts or thoughts, but what he has said he has said with his customary felicity, and in passage after passage with striking freshness and brilliance of expression. There is restraint throughout, even where his white-hot indignation at the patent sham and injustice of anti-Semitism is clearly discernible. All in all, this little volume is a very worthwhile contribution to the cause of social and civic justice and charity. And it is eminently readable. God speed to it.

JOHN M. COOPER.

HISTORY

Iceland, the First American Republic, by Vilhjalmur Stefansson. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.50.

ICELAND—the fourth largest island of the North Atlantic—has been a geographical stepping stone between the old world and the new. Furthermore, the Icelandic nation seems to be the only one in the world which can trace its history back to its very beginning, and which discovered the mainland of North America. It would seem high time that the United States discover this little nation which introduced the American mainland to Europe 939 years ago.

Stefansson, a well-loved writer about things arctic since the appearance of his first work, "My Life with the Eskimo," in 1913, tells Iceland's fascinating, saga-like story in a truly competent manner. Having drawn from all key printed and manuscript sources, he has here presented both a thorough and complete study of available facts and a skillful interpretation thereof. And they are interesting facts! Today this serene little country has airplanes and buses, but no railroads; its fishermen read the classics; its children, speaking a changeless language, read the old Norse Eddas of the past. The country, like its Scandinavian neighbors, has gone far toward solving the great problems of democracy that are vexing the United States. The cooperatives, which have proved so successful in other Scandinavian countries, have realized here excellent results. Then there is a discussion of literature, medical services, health and social conditions, agriculture, fisheries, commerce, communications, and a chapter "for tourists." The book concludes with a summary of available information on "Icelanders in the Americas," a topic which has received attention from other writers.

There is a good bibliography. We only regret that Stefansson did not see fit to include here references to a few works of fiction of Gudmunder Kamban and Gunnar Gunnarsson and that there is no index. Otherwise, the work is one of those rare treats which come when we least expect them, and which are priceless.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK.

Road to Empire, the Life and Times of Bonaparte the General, by Fletcher Pratt. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Comapny. $3.75.

NOTHING is so striking in reading Mr. Pratt's "Road to Empire" than the resemblances between the Revolutionary French propaganda of 1795-1799 and the nazi rhetoric of invasion. Then as now the invaders held themselves out to the intended victims as selfless avengers of the weak and downtrodden, talked vaguely and hotly about righteousness, the while they quietly greased the proper palms to sow dissension, to spread chaos and to obtain loud calls for "liberation" by "brothers" across the "artificial" border. And when their brothers did arrive, the oppressed were relieved of their government and wealth, in exchange for which they were given order, invariably of the prison variety. Of course there

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are some differences. The French invaded in the name of nationalism, freedom, fraternity and equality whereas the Germans take over with the cry of the eternal rights of Aryan superiority and sacred *lebensraum*.

Yet both have revealed themselves to be destroyers of tradition, enemies of religion and apostles of disparate secularisms, the French imposing one nationalistic in character and the Germans another dyed with the blood of racism. The French had great respect and confidence in reason, whereas the nazis are vehemently anti-intellectualistic and exponents of irrationalism. Both however have refused to recognize any overriding natural law of God, preferring to follow the code of gangsters and thugs.

But one must not be misled into thinking that "Road to Empire" is an anti-nazi tract, showing similarities between the French and nazi revolutions. On the contrary it is a well written story of Bonaparte from 1795 to 1799, from his start as a debonair boudoir officer to his election as First Consul of the Republic. We see young Bonaparte receive the command of the army of Italy, plan and execute campaigns, win battle after battle, make treaties without consulting the Directory, strip Italy of its art, empty the treasuries of the Italian states, establish puppet republics, study finance, return in glory, set out for the conquest of Egypt, destroy the Mameluke Empire and escape ingloriously with just a few officers to France. The author shows us how the young general handled the corrupt army contractors, the frightened bankers, the incompetent and crooked Directory and long-winded Austrian and Italian diplomats. We observe the influence of such economic factors as inflation, the huge and piling French debt, and of such figures as Barras, Josephine and Talleyrand on the rise of the Jacobin Napoleon Bonaparte. Once again I repeat that the story is well told, in vigorous and swiftly moving language. Mr. Fletcher Pratt is a writer of unusual distinction and his "Road to Empire" is clearly based on established learning, corrected by the interpretations of more recent scholarship.

JOSEPH CALDERON.

POETRY

Vermont Valley, by Walter Hard. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

THE *Rutland Herald* and the *Manchester Journal* had the honor first to publish these Vermont poems of Mr. Hard. Both papers are to be complimented. There are few false notes; the poems are sturdy American stuff, filled with the humor and pathos and people of our country.

It would be possible to take a snobbish attitude and criticize Mr. Hard's work for its form, executed as it is in the blankest kind of "free verse" and reminiscent in style of the impasioned 'twenties, when any rearrangement of prose could pass as poetry. Yet on second reading, a critic would be put to it to suggest any other form which would project the matter of the author's poetry so successfully and with such economy of means. In the final analysis, the form he has chosen appears as inevitable as that of Edgar Lee Masters in "Spoon River."

There is abundance of humor in "Vermont Valley"; not the weary and manufactured humor of the radio and the cocktail bar, but the spontaneous, caustic wit of New England, the humor of situation and character rather than the pun or the double-meaning. Mr. Hard's few failures occur when he deserts people and things and becomes abstract and consciously poetic.

J. G. E. HOPKINS.

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The Inner Forum

THE CATHOLIC DRAMATIC MOVEMENT whose headquarters is in Oconomowoc, Wisconsin, has recently enlarged and extended its program. Unsatisfied with the typical negativist approach to contemporary problems which leads to sterile "anti-" societies, the Directors of the Catholic Dramatic Movement have formulated a positive program under the presidency of Archbishop Stritch of Milwaukee. "Criticism is not enough, we must be producing," says its news release apropos of the Legion of Decency, which has not entered the field of producing and distributing films. One of the more progressive features of the Movement's program is its intention to produce and distribute films that are not mere propaganda but that do attempt to present a Christian attitude toward things.

The Movement publishes plays and books on recreational activities, an illustrated magazine giving practical advice on play staging and acting; it also has a costume department to manufacture and rent costumes and a free information bureau to give information on all branches of the theatre and recreational activities. But the more important work of the Movement is that having to do with the training of young men and women who are devoting their times and energies to the presentation of plays sponsored by the Movement. A school of dramatics, an evening course in drama and a summer school in drama are the principal means employed by the Movement to train its actors. At present it is calling for young men and women to enroll in its school of dramatics, promising graduates permanent employment in the Movement.

Religious and modern plays have already been presented in Milwaukee, Chicago and other cities in the Middle West. To arouse interest the Movement intends to hold Catholic Theatre Weeks throughout the United States. During these weeks four plays exemplifying four different types—religious, social, morality and a play dealing with the family—will be presented. There will also be free Catholic Theatre Evenings, during which plays will be presented and short lectures on the Movement will be given by some of its clerical and lay leaders.

Pius XI epitomized the goal of the Movement in his message through the then Cardinal Pacelli: "His Holiness praised the multiplication of large halls, well equipped with modern apparatus, strongly united together, to give educational and recreational shows of Christian character." Those interested in this growing Movement should address communications to its energetic Vice-President, Father M. Helfen, at its headquarters in Oconomowoc, Wisconsin.

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